

## FROM QUOTAS TO SUBSTANCE: IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL REGULATION NO. 9 ON GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN DPRD BOJONEGORO

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## ABSTRACT

*This study is motivated by persistent gender disparities showing that increased women's numerical representation in local legislatures has not ensured the substantive integration of gender perspectives. It examines the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming in the Bojonegoro District Parliament. The research addresses the gap between the formal adoption of gender mainstreaming policy and its limited operationalization within the legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions of the DPRD. This study is grounded in substantive representation theory and the gender mainstreaming framework to analyze institutional dynamics of gender-responsive policy implementation. The research employs a qualitative case study approach using in-depth interviews, observation, and document analysis, with data analyzed through the Miles-Huberman interactive model supported by NVivo coding to identify patterns of PUG implementation within the DPRD. The findings show that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 remains largely normative due to the absence of technocratic instruments translating the PUG mandate into concrete legislative procedures. Moreover, the uneven distribution of women in strategic positions limits the DPRD's institutional capacity to consistently integrate gender perspectives. Although female legislators demonstrate substantive contributions, these remain individual rather than institutionalized due to weak organizational support and limited inter-institutional coordination.*

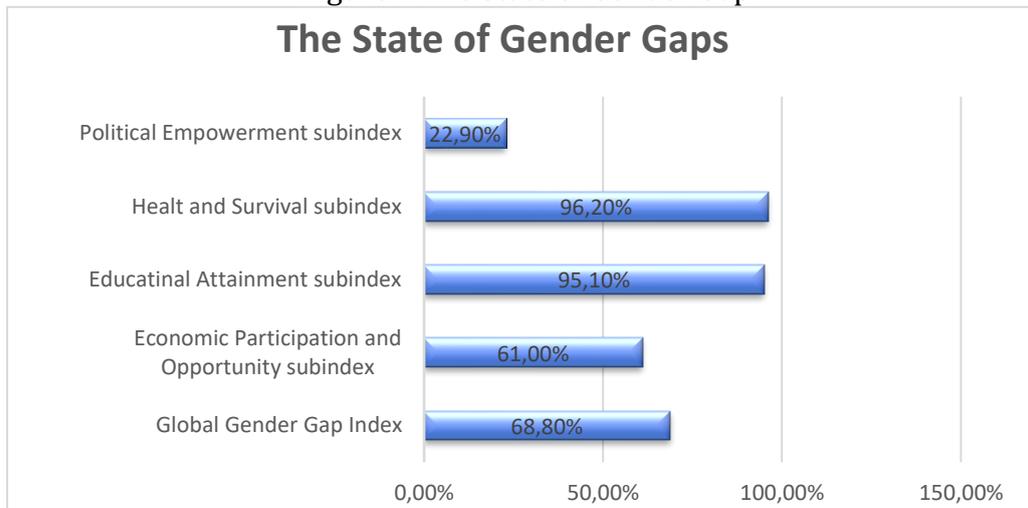
## INTRODUCTION

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, commonly known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), is an extension of the global MDGs framework that aims to improve international collaborations while addressing other issues like equality, urbanization, and environmental sustainability. The initial eight MDG targets are expanded into seventeen goals by the SDGs (Bates-Earner et al., 2012). The foundation for this sustainable development agenda was previously established by a number of international agreements, such as the MDGs, which made gender equality one

of the main development goals, the Beijing Platform for Action, which set twelve priority areas for women's empowerment, and CEDAW, which safeguards women's rights and advances gender equality. Gender mainstreaming within the SDG framework is based on these three agreements (Dwi Purnowo, 2022).

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index is used to monitor gender equality globally in the context of accomplishing the SDGs. Only over 68.8% of the gender gap has been closed globally, according to the 2024 report. Health (96.2%) and education (95.1%) have the highest levels of equality, but there are still significant disparities in the economic sector (61%) and particularly in political involvement (22.9%). These findings show that structural obstacles still prevent women from obtaining strategic roles and equal economic prospects, even in the face of several international commitments (UN Women, 2023; World Economic Forum, 2025).

Figure 1 The State of Gender Gap



Source : (World Economic Forum, 2025)

According to Yuslin (2021), the Indonesian government is among those dedicated to achieving gender-responsive and equitable development. The Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development (Inpres Nomor 9, 2000) is a manifestation of this dedication. The more possibilities given for women to participate in development, the greater the impact on the prosperity and advancement of Indonesian society, since women have the same capacity as men (Muzayyanah, 2020)

Table 1. The Indonesian Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) and Its Elements, 2020–2024

Year	Women's Parliamentary Participation (%)	Women in Professional Employment (%)	Women's Income Contribution (%)	Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) (%)
2020	21,09 %	48,76%	37,26%	75,57%
2021	21,89%	49,99%	37,22%	76,26%
2022	21,74 %	48,65%	37,17%	76,59%
2023	22,14 %	49,53 %	37,09 %	76,90 %
2024	22,46 %	50,13 %	37,31 %	77,62%

Source : Sistem Informasi Gender dan Anak (SIGA) (KemenPPPA, 2024)

Throughout its history, prejudice based on gender stereotypes has continued to exist, especially in the domains of politics and government. There is still an imbalance in the roles that men and women play in legislative bodies, as evidenced by the fact that women's presence in these bodies has not yet met the required quota (Fajrin Nasta & Aditya, 2022). When women participate equally with men in a variety of fields, including politics, gender empowerment can be attained. Although it is anticipated that political equality will lessen gender-biased policies, men still predominate in Indonesia's political sphere (Yuslin, 2021). The average female participation rate between 2010 and 2020 was only about 18.12 percent, which is still well below the 30 percent threshold for women's representation in parliament, as Table 1.1 illustrates.

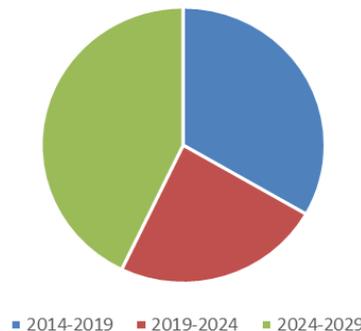


Figure 2 Women's Representation  
 Source: (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2025)

The low participation of women in legislative bodies at the regional level is another indication of obstacles to gender equality. The percentage of female members in district/city DPRD is still, on average, less than 25%, according to the 2024 East Java KPU data (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2025). In local contexts, especially in Bojonegoro Regency, this situation is similarly apparent. Women's representation in the Bojonegoro DPRD varied from 14% between 2014 and 2019 to 10% between 2019 and 2024 before increasing once more to 18% between 2024 and 2029. These numbers are still well below the 30% threshold, highlighting the necessity of affirmative action laws, increased training for female political leaders, and changes in political culture to guarantee long-term female representation in parliament (Lia Nurhasanah, 2023). In response to this circumstance, the Bojonegoro Regency Government implemented Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG), a strategic tool for incorporating gender perspectives into all regional development policies and programs with the goal of advancing justice and equality for men and women in a variety of spheres of life (Anggreini & Martini, 2025).

This study is highly pertinent to the current state of affairs, where one of the goals of gender-responsive regional development is to increase the representation of women. Theoretically, there are still few studies that connect the adoption of Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) policies at the regional level with women's political representation. Fajrin Nasta & Aditya (2022) explain that while women's representation in legislatures is increasing, party recruitment procedures that are solely concerned with meeting quota requirements frequently result in such participation not being accompanied by a substantive capacity to advocate for women's issues. Meanwhile, (Anggreini & Martini, 2025) found that insufficient integration of gender perspectives into regional development programs and inter-agency collaboration are obstacles to the implementation of PUG policies in Central Java. Building on these conclusions, this study

enhances earlier research by concentrating on the Bojonegoro Regency's implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming and analyzing the dynamics of women's representation in the Bojonegoro DPRD to find practical methods for attaining significant and long-lasting political representation for women.

The researcher used VOSviewer software to analyze previous studies and map research trends in order to identify the novelty of this study.

Figure 2 VosViewer

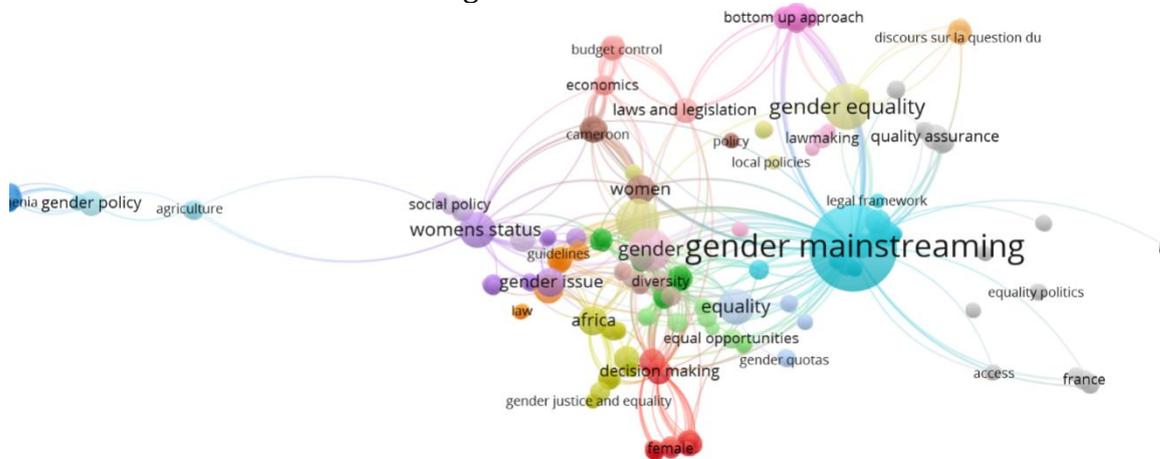


Figure 3 VosViewer

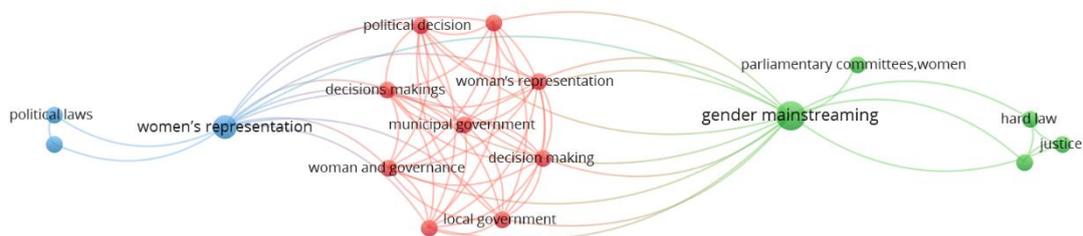


Foto : The power of network keyword “Gender Mainstreaming, Women Representation, Parliamentary” Oleh Scopus Database (2025)

This study's analytical focus, which fills a vacuum in the existing literature on the connection between women's representation, the application of gender mainstreaming, and the effectiveness of local legislative institutions, is what makes it new. According to recent studies, parliaments around the world have started reorganizing their internal procedures and systems to make them more gender-sensitive (EIGE, 2019; OECD, 2023) However, the dynamics of gender mainstreaming implementation at the regional level have not been covered by these research, which often concentrate on national parliaments. Furthermore, studies on women's participation in parliament typically focus on institutional changes and the general effects of gender quotas without evaluating how these changes relate to the district-level execution of gender legislation (Ahrens & Palmieri, 2024).

According to international publications on local governance, structural disparities continue to be a significant obstacle to women's involvement and significant influence in

local institutions (CGE, 2024; UNDP, 2025). However, there is currently a dearth of empirical research, especially in the Indonesian setting, on how local legislative bodies carry out regional gender-mainstreaming strategies. In order to close this gap, this study examines how the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) is implementing Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming.

This study contributes theoretically by linking substantive representation theory and the gender mainstreaming framework to explain why increased women's numerical representation in local legislatures does not automatically result in gender-responsive policy outcomes. Unlike previous studies that focus on national parliaments or quota compliance, this research highlights the role of institutional mechanisms and technocratic instruments in shaping the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming at the local legislative level.

This study provides a new empirical contribution by examining how the numerical representation of women in DPRD is related to the implementation of PUG in the functions of legislation, *penganggaran*, and *pengawasan*. In addition, this study enhances theoretical discourse by connecting gender mainstreaming and substantive representation to explain the dynamics of gender policy in local legislative bodies. As a result, this study offers new insights that have not yet been included into literature, as well as important contextual perspectives that are pertinent to the advancement of gender equality.

The results of this mapping are consistent with the research by Noka Bilqista & Setijaningrum (2025) which indicates that there is still a disconnect between the substantive elements of participation and decision-making and quantitative metrics like representation quotas in Indonesian gender policy. Based on this, the current study examines how Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming is being implemented in the Bojonegoro DPRD in order to determine how well quota-based policies can support women's roles in local political and governance processes.

## METHOD

This study examines the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) using a qualitative case study approach, as this method enables an in-depth understanding of policy implementation processes and actor interactions. The researcher can investigate social phenomena in-depth and contextually by using a qualitative technique (Creswell, 2018). The claim that a case study design allows for the examination of policy phenomena in intricate real-life contexts is the basis for its use (Yin, 2017). As the PUG Regulation was enacted in Bojonegoro Regency in 2025 and remains at an early stage of implementation, local gender dynamics continue to be shaped by structural and cultural factors, making the regional context analytically relevant.

This study is located in Bojonegoro Regency, East Java, which continues to experience gender gaps in development indicators such as the GDI and GEI, as well as women's underrepresentation in the DPRD that has not yet reflected gender-justice principles. The research was conducted between October and November 2025, focusing on how the DPRD, Bappeda, and DP3AKB interpret and operationalize the PUG regulation during its early stage of implementation. A qualitative approach is appropriate to capture local socio-political contexts and actor dynamics that cannot be reduced to quantitative analysis (Ford & Goger, 2021).

Purposive sampling, which involves identifying participants based on particular criteria to guarantee that the data collected came from people with pertinent expertise,

experience, or strategic positions related to the implementation of PUG, was used to pick informants (Memon et al., 2025).

This method was chosen since not all actors are familiar with the specifics of the PUG Regulation, necessitating the researcher's selection of those who were directly involved in the policy's development, discussion, execution, or supervision.

The criteria for informants include:

1. Having an understanding of and involvement in the drafting or discussion of the PUG Regulation.
2. Playing a role in the implementation, coordination, or oversight of PUG policy.
3. Representing elements of the legislature, development planners, technical government agencies, and civil society.

Based on these criteria, the research informants consist of four groups representing the core actors involved in the implementation of PUG, as shown in the following table.

Tabel 2. Profile of Informants

Group	Definition	Informants
DPRD Kabupaten Bojonegoro	The Regional Regulation on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) is being implemented in terms of budgeting, oversight, and legislation.	Commission C (responsible for development and public welfare affairs)
Bappeda Bojonegoro	Responsible for development planning and the integration of gender into the RPJMD, RKPD, and Renja.	Head of the Planning Division and Sub-Coordinator for Gender Budgeting.
DP3AKB	Technical government agency serving as the regional coordinator for gender mainstreaming (PUG).	Head of the Women's Protection Division (PPA); PUG Focal Point Staff
Women's Organization	Advocacy group and monitoring body for gender-equality issues.	Representatives of Fatayat NU / Aisyiyah / the Bojonegoro Women's Forum.

This study used primary and secondary data collected through in-depth interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis involving key actors in the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming, including the DPRD, Bappeda, DP3AKB, and women's organizations, with secondary sources drawn from the regulation, regional planning documents, OPD reports, and BPS statistics (Neuman, 2020).

Data analysis employed the interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and verification (M. Miles et al., 2018). The coding process was conducted using NVivo 14 to organize interview transcripts, group themes, and systematically map relational patterns among actors. Data validity was ensured through source and method triangulation by comparing interviews, observations, and documents, in accordance with established principles of data validity (Sugiyono, 2019a).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Implementation of the Gender Mainstreaming Policy in the Bojonegoro District Regional House of Representatives.

This discussion looks at how the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) implements Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) and how women's substantive and descriptive representation influences the budgetary, oversight, and legislative processes. The Van Meter and Van Horn implementation model, which highlights the significance of policy standards, institutional capability, coordination, implementer disposition, and sociopolitical situations, is the basis for this analysis. Additionally, the degree to which women's presence influences the creation of gender-responsive policy outcomes is evaluated using the framework of descriptive and substantive representation.

Field research reveals that while Bojonegoro's PUG policy framework is sufficient, its implementation has not yet functioned at its best because of a lack of institutional backing, a lack of technical capacity, and the existence of both structural and cultural hurdles within local politics. However, despite their modest numerical presence, female lawmakers in the DPRD have shown a substantial substantive contribution. The analysis focuses on the main factors that influence how PUG is implemented within the DPRD in order to gain a deeper understanding of this discrepancy. These factors include how policy standards are translated, the amount of institutional capacity that is available, the quality of inter-agency coordination, the ways that implementers' dispositions influence policy responses, and the impact of social and cultural elements ingrained in local political practice.

Regarding policy standards and objectives, Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 provides a clear direction for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Article 4 affirms the regional government's goal of *"mewujudkan perencanaan berperspektif gender melalui pengintegrasian pengalaman, aspirasi, kebutuhan, dan permasalahan laki-laki dan perempuan"*. This perspective demonstrates that the DPRD sees PUG less as an analytical tool that should direct policy discussions and more as a value-oriented ideal. Instead of interpreting PUG technocratically, local government actors typically do so normatively and socially (Hadi, 2024; Nurdin, 2022). The lack of GAP-GBS utilization during program and budget discussions in Bojonegoro is a clear indication that the progressive policy standards have not yet been completely embraced as legislative working rules.

However, interviews indicate that these policy standards have not been technically translated by the DPRD. According to Ahmad Supriyanto, PUG is regarded as *"payung hukum agar pembangunan tidak hanya teknis saja, tetapi juga menyentuh persoalan sosial."* This perspective demonstrates that the DPRD sees PUG less as an analytical tool that should direct policy discussions and more as a value-oriented ideal. Instead of interpreting PUG technocratically, local government actors typically do so normatively and socially (Hadi, 2024; Nurdin, 2022). The lack of GAP-GBS utilization during program and budget discussions in Bojonegoro is a clear indication that the









Figure 7 Word Cloud

Source Nvivo 12

The word cloud in Figure 7 shows that implementers' dispositions in carrying out PUG are largely determined by the level of individual commitment among DPRD members. The dominance of terms related to commitment underscores that responsiveness to women's and children's issues does not emerge from an established institutional mechanism but rather from the personal willingness of legislators to engage actively. This finding aligns with interview results that reveal a stark contrast between female and male members: female legislators respond more quickly to community reports, proactively contact technical OPDs, and consistently take ownership of gender issues, whereas most male members maintain only a normative stance without deeper involvement.

This pattern indicates that PUG implementation in Bojonegoro still operates within a framework heavily influenced by individual preferences and commitments, making policy success dependent on *who* the actors are rather than on institutional structures that should ensure consistent execution of the PUG mandate. This high dependence on individual commitment cannot be separated from the broader social and cultural context shaping how political actors interpret gender issues, making Bojonegoro's structural and cultural conditions the next critical factor for understanding the overall implementation process of PUG.

Social and cultural factors in Bojonegoro continue to hinder women's participation in politics. Ahmad Supriyanto described that women face both "*struktural maupun kultural*," including political party support that is "kadang hanya formalitas" as well as persistent perceptions that women are less assertive and therefore unfit for leadership. The structural obstacles stem from limited political party support, while the cultural barriers arise from patriarchal social norms.

DP3AKB added that men still do not view gender issues as a development priority. This condition obstructs the implementation of the PUG Regulation because political perceptions and practices are not aligned with the equality principles outlined in Article 2. The quota for women's representation is often fulfilled only administratively, without



Laki-laki	44	88%
Perempuan	6	12%
Total	50	100%

Source. Secretariat of the Bojonegoro District DPRD

This can be seen in Table 4, which shows that the composition of the Bojonegoro DPRD remains dominated by men with 44 members (88%), while women make up only 6 members (12%) out of a total of 50. Descriptively, these figures illustrate that the DPRD has not reached the ideal standard of gender representation, particularly when measured against the 30% quota promoted in national affirmative action policies. With such an imbalanced proportion, women occupy a structural minority position, making it numerically difficult to build sufficient political influence.

From the perspective of descriptive representation, this imbalance indicates that the legislative body does not reflect the social diversity of the community it represents. Women's representation far below the quota often results in limited opportunities for them to influence the legislative process in a meaningful way (Rahmadani & Najib, 2025). Krook explains that when women do not reach a critical mass, their capacity to intervene in political agendas becomes highly constrained because male actors continue to dominate policy deliberation (M. L. Krook, 2020).

The condition of the Bojonegoro DPRD reflects the same pattern: structural inequality in representation creates barriers from the earliest stage of the political representation cycle. With only six women, the space for advancing gender issues risks being overshadowed by majority dynamics. In the context of PUG implementation, this becomes an initial challenge because an unequal representational foundation can weaken the likelihood that gender perspectives will be integrated into legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. Low descriptive representation often leads to weak substantive representation for women, unless supported by strong institutional mechanisms (Celis & Childs, 2011).

Tabel 5. Distribution of Women in the Leadership Structure of the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives

Position Type	Position Title	Total	Women	Names of Women
Leadership of the Regional House of Representatives	Chairperson, Vice Chair I, Vice Chair II, Vice Chair III	4	1	Hj. Mitroatin, S.Pd., M.M
Commission Chairs	Commission A, B, C, D	4	1	Sally Atyasami, S.Km, M.Km.
Deputy Commission Chairs	Deputy Chair of Commission A, B, C, D	4	0	
Faction Chairs	Factions 1-4	4	1	Sally Atyasami, S.Km, M.Km.
Members of All Commissions	-	36	5	All Female Members

Source. Secretariat of the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives

Women's representation within the leadership structure of the Bojonegoro DPRD shows that their involvement in strategic positions remains limited. The table indicates that out of four leadership seats, only one is held by a woman, Hj. Mitroatin. While the presence of a woman in a top leadership role carries symbolic significance, structurally she remains in a minority position. The literature notes that women in senior posts often face a dual burden: fulfilling formal responsibilities while also carrying expectations to articulate women's interests (M. Krook & Mackay, 2011). This dynamic appears relevant

in this context, as women's representation in top leadership is not supported by adequate proportions in other strategic positions.

At the commission-chair level, only one woman occupies a leadership role out of four positions, namely Sally Atyasasmi. This indicates that women are not evenly distributed across commission structures, which serve as key arenas where policy issues are deliberated. Commission rooms are critical sites where sectoral concerns are translated into political agendas (Balirante, 2021; Sujarwati et al., 2025). The limited presence of women in commission leadership positions may restrict the incorporation of gender perspectives into commission deliberations.

Meanwhile, no women occupy the position of deputy commission chair, revealing another layer of representational inequality at the mid-level leadership tier. The absence of women in these roles reinforces the finding that women's access to strategic positions remains constrained by masculine political structures and cultures. The higher the strategic position, the stronger the internal selection mechanisms that tend to favor men (Sucitra et al., 2024).

At the faction-chair level, again only one woman holds a leadership role out of four positions. This recurring pattern demonstrates that women continue to be exceptions within the legislative leadership structure. Although Sally Atyasasmi holds two strategic positions (commission chair and faction chair), this concentration of roles in a single individual indicates that women's representation is not systemic but instead dependent on a politically stronger figure.

In the category of commission members, there are 5 women out of a total of 36 members, indicating that women's participation is more prevalent at the membership level rather than in leadership positions. This affirms that women more easily access spaces of numerical representation but face greater difficulty entering spaces of political power. Many parliaments in developing countries experience a gendered leadership gap in which women are present as members but are seldom entrusted with positions of influence (Tripp, 2021).

Overall, the table shows that women's descriptive representation in the Bojonegoro DPRD remains limited and unevenly distributed. Women are present but have not obtained strategic positions proportionally. This disparity reflects not only a numerical imbalance but also structural dynamics that inhibit the creation of a genuinely equal political environment. This situation provides a crucial foundation for understanding why women's substantive representation continues to face challenges within the framework of Gender Mainstreaming implementation in the Bojonegoro DPRD.

The substantive representation of women in the Bojonegoro DPRD appears to be the strongest compared to other indicators. Nearly all informants stated that female legislators play a crucial role in raising issues related to women and children. The DPRD emphasized that women are "*yang paling sering mengangkat isu PAUD, gizi balita, atau kasus kekerasan perempuan-anak.*" DP3AKB added that they are also the ones who most often request data when formulating budget recommendations.

This phenomenon shows that although the number of women in the DPRD is not yet ideal, their substantive contributions are the most prominent. Female legislators consistently serve as key actors in issues of social welfare and the protection of women and children, a pattern clearly observable in Bojonegoro (Pratiwi, 2019). However, in the absence of institutional support, women’s substantive representation operates individually and informally. The lack of a legislative PUG SOP prevents their contributions from becoming institutionalized, making their continuity highly dependent on the specific individuals who happen to hold office.

Figure 9 *Word Cloud*



Source. *Nvivo 12*

The word cloud in Figure 9 shows that the substantive representation of women in the Bojonegoro DPRD primarily emerges through their involvement in issues of social welfare, health, violence, and public services. The dominance of themes such as “women,” “social,” and “violence” underscores that their substantive contributions arise when legislative agendas intersect with the needs of vulnerable groups, rather than through formal mechanisms that institutionalize gender perspectives. This pattern indicates that women’s substantive roles are shaped more by personal initiative and field experience than by systemic support within the legislative institution, resulting in uneven substantive engagement across DPRD members.

Ahmad Supriyanto’s statement clearly reveals that the substantive obstacles faced by women in the Bojonegoro DPRD are not only structural but also culturally layered. He explicitly stated that:

*“Wah, sangat. Masih banyak yang menganggap perempuan itu kurang tegas dan kurang cocok memimpin. Itu membuat banyak perempuan tidak percaya diri untuk terjun politik. Ya budaya patriarki tadi itu. Kemudian struktur partai politik yang masih didominasi laki-laki. Ada juga masalah kapasitas, tidak semua perempuan punya pengalaman politik. Masyarakat pun kadang tidak percaya atau memandang perempuan tidak layak memimpin. Itu hambatan yang nyata.”*

This quotation illustrates that substantive representation cannot be separated from a social context that consistently undermines women’s capabilities. Patriarchal culture positions women as unfit for leadership, while male dominance within party structures means that recruitment and cadre-building processes do not provide equal opportunities for women to develop. Moreover, Ahmad pointed out that women’s political capacity is often questioned not due to their lack of ability, but because they are not given equal opportunities to gain political experience. Public perceptions that cast doubt on women’s legitimacy further narrow their space to exert influence in

policymaking. Under such conditions, strengthening inter-agency coordination becomes crucial because the DPRD cannot overcome these substantive barriers without structured support in the form of data, networks, and collaborative mechanisms.

#### Integrative Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) Implementation in the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives (DPRD)

This integrative analysis shows that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro DPRD operates in a pattern that is not fully aligned between policy design and institutional practice. The regulation sets progressive goals for integrating gender perspectives, yet these goals have not developed into technocratic mechanisms that can guide legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. The disconnect between normative aspirations and operational execution forms a central characteristic of PUG implementation in this regional legislative institution.

Viewed comprehensively, the implementation variables in Van Meter and Van Horn's model, namely policy standards, resources, inter-agency coordination, and implementer disposition, display weaknesses that are interconnected. Policy standards are provided through the regulation, but the absence of practical instruments such as GAP-GBS prevents these standards from being translated into operational procedures. Technical capacity and institutional support are also insufficient. There are no gender-based budget review SOPs, no guidelines for gender-responsive legislative work, and no PUG forum within the DPRD. Coordination takes place in administrative settings rather than through analytical mechanisms, resulting in gender issues not being treated as structural agendas. At the same time, implementer disposition carries significant weight because gender sensitivity is concentrated among female legislators, while the institution as a whole does not share the same technocratic commitment.

Walby's framework on substantive representation reinforces these findings. The presence of women produces substantive contributions, but these contributions rely on personal initiative rather than institutional structures. When gender-oriented arguments emerge only when female legislators raise them, the resulting gender substance within policy discussions becomes sporadic and lacks continuity. Substantive representation does not emerge from institutionalized PUG mechanisms but from individual experience and sensitivity. This pattern indicates that descriptive representation has not produced substantive transformation in the absence of institutional support.

From a broader policy ecosystem perspective, PUG implementation in Bojonegoro still lacks an integrated coordination structure. Interaction between the DPRD, Bappeda, DP3AKB, and other agencies occurs through routine administrative forums rather than a formal PUG mechanism. The absence of gender-disaggregated data channels, joint monitoring platforms, and systematic involvement of women's organizations prevents policy substance from being grounded in comprehensive information. As a result, gender issues move according to specific actors and individual moments instead of flowing as institutional agendas.

Overall, the character of PUG implementation in the Bojonegoro DPRD can be described as normative, actor centric, and not yet institutionalized. It is normative because formal regulations and commitments exist without accompanying technocratic instruments. It is actor centric because progress depends heavily on the sensitivity and initiative of female legislators. It is not institutionalized because gender issues still lack SOPs, forums, and guidelines that would embed them structurally into legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. Without institutional reforms that translate the

Regulation's mandate into technical procedures, PUG implementation will continue to depend on individual actors and remain inconsistent.

This analysis highlights the need to strengthen technocratic capacity, institutionalize analytical tools such as GAP-GBS, and establish a cross agency PUG coordination forum. These steps are essential to ensure that gender issues emerge not as personal responses but as operational frameworks within the DPRD's decision-making processes.

## CONCLUSION

The implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives essentially has a clear direction, yet its operational steps remain stalled at the normative level. Although the policy framework is formally progressive, it has not translated into concrete, day-to-day practices within the legislative, budgeting, or oversight functions. The absence of technical instruments, the lack of integrated and stable coordination mechanisms, and weak institutional support leave PUG functioning more as an aspirational idea than as a fully grounded operational practice.

In terms of women's representation, the situation is similar. Numerically, women remain a minority and have not occupied many strategic positions that would allow their voices to be amplified. However, behind these constraints, women's substantive roles appear to be the most prominent. They are the ones most attuned to issues that affect daily life, including early childhood education, child nutrition, and various forms of violence experienced by women and children. These contributions show that even within an unequal environment, women legislators continue to play an important role, although this role depends more on personal initiative than on structural support.

Taken together, the findings show that PUG implementation in the Bojonegoro DPRD is still shaped primarily by the individuals who carry it out, by their sensitivity, concern, and willingness to act, rather than by an established system. As long as PUG relies on individual commitment and is not supported by institutionalized guidelines and mechanisms, gender equality will progress only slowly. More fundamental changes are needed, including strengthening institutional capacity, expanding strategic opportunities for women, and building systems that ensure gender perspectives are present not because of who occupies office but because the institution itself operates with strong gender awareness.

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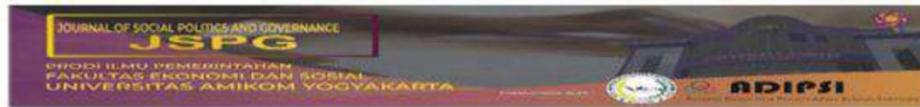
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## B. LoA



### LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

ID PAPER : 2503

**Penulis yang terhormat,**

Kami menyampaikan bahwa artikel jurnal dengan identitas :

Nama Penulis	Judul Artikel
Elsa Muizzatul Abadiyah, Septi Wulandari, Rupiarsieh	FROM QUOTAS TO SUBSTANCE: IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL REGULATION NO. 9 ON GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN DPRD BOJONEGORO

**telah diterima (accepted).** Artikel akan dipublikasikan pada Jurnal JSPG Vol.8 No.1 Bulan Juni Tahun 2026. Artikel ini terindeks pada SINTA 3.

Kami mengucapkan selamat. Terima kasih atas partisipasi penulis pada Jurnal JSPG. Kami tunggu publikasi artikel selanjutnya.

Yogyakarta, 27 - Januari - 2026

Hormat kami,

Editor in Chief

Hanantyo Sri Nugroho, S.IP., M.A.

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### **C. PROFIL OJS**

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